/283 cont./

634 occasions we were able to ascertain the discipline of the popula-
[439] tion. Several days after our arrival, having evaluated the im-
[345] portance of our provisions, he gave the order to work for a whole day making objects for exchange; and from dawn to night the baitemannanage[a] was a veritable workshop, where all the men of the tribe applied themselves without stopping to the most ingenious
[226] tasks. A little later Tušawa gave the order to fish. The whole village left the next morning in 30 canoes, leaving us alone with the women and children in the deserted houses.

[221] His powers were quite wide. It was he who presided over the economic life of the tribe, whether in deciding each year on the lands to clear and begin cultivating and the kinds of crops, or ordering the hunts, the fishing expeditions, and the various manufactures. He also ordered, contingently, the change of site
[361] of the village. Kejara has been on its present site for only a few years; the village previously was about two kilometers downstream.
[731] The purpose of the emigration had been to flee from the smallpox, and Tušawa was again already thinking about a new move, for the disease was recommencing its ravages.

[796] /284/ In addition the chief decided the festivals, had them
[533] postponed when his state of health demanded it, and took an active part in them: a good part of the ceremonial devolved on him, and many of the choruses had him as leader /given in English/ or soloist. All the objects, ornaments, or instruments used in the dances or religious ceremonies belonged to him, although outside their use they were disseminated in the houses of the different players. At least he was the only one who had them at his dis-
[123] posal. We always had to deal with him personally to buy ritual
[126] objects, even when we had discovered them in the back of a distant house. No present would have persuaded the owner to take over the negotiations from him (1).

634
463
301

1. Certain ritual objects, besides, can only be made by the chief. One of these

/284 cont./

203 The village itself learned of these during a daily ceremony
512 /285/ that took place after sunset. At the moment when night
614 falls, a large fire is lit near the Baitemannanage°, near which
[537] the clan chiefs gather; in a very loud voice one of them makes a veritable "roll call" of the clans, whose names resound successively in the night. Gradually as the parties concerned arrive, orders for the next day are communicated to them, always in this raised tone which carries every word to the most distant house. At this time of day the houses are empty anyway, or almost so. With nightfall which dispels the mosquitos, all the men come out of their houses where they had been for about the last six hours.
[361] Each carries a mat on his arm, which he will stretch out on the beaten earth of the large, round stake-encircled plaza situated
[516] on the west side of the men's house. Each lies down wrapped in
[302] a large cotton blanket completely stained orange from the contact of bodies covered with urucú, which the Service de Protection would have difficulty in recognizing as their presents of six or
[285] eight years before. They settle down on the long mats in fives or sixes and a few words are exchanged. Some are alone; they move around between all these outstretched bodies. As the roll call goes on, the native chiefs of the families named rise by turns, go to learn their task for the next day, and return to stretch themselves out beneath the stars. The women have also come out of the houses. They form groups on the threshholds, where
[533] more mats have been made ready. Conversation becomes more and more rare, and one begins to hear progressively, conducted at first by two or three officiants, and amplified by successive arrivals, at first at the back of the men's house, then on the plaza itself, songs, recitatives, and choruses which last all night.

634 We were not able to obtain any serious information on the
[614] choice of the chief. The leadership is probably hereditary within the clan, passing upon the death of the titular incumbent to the sister's son. In fact, Tušawa had no heir. According to native informants, a council of elders or of clan chiefs would have to meet after his death to designate a successor. Tušawa, the

/287 cont./

764 which are made of palm stalks cut
535 into sections about 25 cm. long;
[824] these sections are fastened together
[284] by bands of roughly twisted green palm. Each rung is made of a bundle of two (big marid'do) or three (small marid'do) sections. Gradually during the construction, the ladder is rolled up on itself until it forms, in the largest example, a disk 1.50
[283] meters in diameter. The two sides are then decorated with green palm, held in place by a net of cords made of women's hair. The top of the disk is decorated for a length of about 50 cm. with applications of down. The large marid'do is called
[614] Ewâguddudoge cŏreŏ marid'do; the small one, Ewâguddudoge kujagoreŏ marid'do. But it is not necessarily natives of this clan who have made them. Some time before the festival the two marid'do are solemnly taken out of the men's house and taken to the middle of the bororo, where they are placed parallel, about two meters apart, and on the axis separating the phratries. The dance of the marid'do lasts two days; each protagonist tries to lift one of the disks at arm's end and to hold it as long as possible while running and jumping in the plaza. Failures provoke the delight of those
[533] present. During the whole ceremony (Pl. VIII, C /see p. 46/ and Pl. X, B /see p. 48/), the following words

/287 cont./

764
535
533

are sung without stopping:

ʷure ᵘure	foot, foot
kaia kaia	pestle, pestle
manó marid'do	dance of the marid'do
čegu'e	we others
če	we burn
uoro	buriti wine
hu hu	yes, yes
čegiga	we joyous

764 of the Ewaguddu clan, and on the occasion of the death of the
535 same individual (Bādejeba) another ceremony took place under
614 the auspices of the Paiwe clan. Thus it was the Tugare clans who
616 officiated for the death of a Čera. But in its turn the Čera phratry was obliged to take part in the festival to play the role of partner. "The Ewaguddudoge dance," said the natives, "but the Čera help them...." This duality is well expressed in certain dances where the protagonists, covered with foliage, form in two lines which face the two ends of the bororo, and then part whirling toward the opposite camp, cross each other in the middle of the area, and stop after having accomplished the change of places. Each camp comprises exclusively the dancers of one phratry. After the dances the participants are washed in a flood of water by the members of the opposite phratry.

614 A network of more complex obligations binds the clans among
264 themselves, with exchanges of food consumed in the men's house.
345 Inside the Baitemannanage, about every two hours a man arrives
[272] from his own house bearing a large communal bowl of mingau pre-
[576] pared by his wife. His arrival is welcomed with the loud, joyous ritual cries, "au, au," which strangely break the afternoon silence. Then, in a set ceremony, the contributor goes and gets six or eight men and conducts them to the bowl, where they begin to dip in with their shell plates. The particulars of this ceremony were not given to us; we were able to gather that each clan is obligated to certain other clans, and that hence all furnish each

[Bororo da Campanha]

361

space, a courtyard where the group meets whenever there is anything to discuss or celebrate.

Its inhabitants were miserably poor, not having even manioc farina to offer us, so that we had to await the arrival of our ox cart, which had been left behind, to bring mate, a steer, coffee, and other foods. Our arrival was attended with a slight attempt at some ceremony, but after shaking hands with almost all of the villagers, the reception was over. Listlessness and evident ignorance of how to receive us were the main characteristics, although it was insisted that we sit down, a custom which I found to be prevalent in every group that I visited subsequently.

While waiting for the cart we took the opportunity of looking about. The huts were made of a skeleton of poles covered with burity palm leaves, which in the front of the house were placed vertically, with the leaflets interlaced. They were of a rectangular ground plan, with a true wall, about fifteen feet high. No hammocks were seen, the people sleeping either on the ground or on raised platforms, wooden frames having straps of leather to take the place of a mattress. The huts contained no further furniture. Each family had its own hut.

It was learned that only one woman of the village knew how to make pottery, but that none had been made for many years. In fact, no industry whatsoever has survived, not even the making of feather ornaments.

The bow and arrow has given place to the gun, of which there were several in the village. Acculturation has indeed gone far, the language being almost forgotten even by the older people.

After the arrival of the cart and the distribution of the food was over, they gathered by a fire in front of the headman's hut in two circles, one for the men and one for the women. We were invited to sit with the men. When all was ready, the headman began to sing to the accompaniment of two gourd rattles, which he shook, one with an up-and-down motion and the other both horizontally and vertically with a different rhythm. In turn, his song was taken up by each man. Sometimes the women and the other men would join in a soft chorus. At times, led by the oldest woman in the tribe, the women would suddenly stand up and begin hopping, holding the legs together stiffly, the arms sideward but horizontally, and, with the hopping, leaning first to one side and then the other. This was enjoyed by them, especially by the older women. Several times chicha was passed around. Undoubtedly the song and dance

[Bororo da Campanha]

574
533
535

would have continued all night had not the visitors finally insisted on retiring to their hammocks.

535
[182]

In the morning there was held a jaguar dance for our curiosity, for it has become quite meaningless to them, no one being able to tell exactly the significance of the dance.

535
292
[302]

An enclosure was built of burity palm leaves, roofless, which served as the dressing room of the dancer. No women were permitted to enter; the rites of dressing the dancer to represent the jaguar were evidently taboo to the women. Two singers with rattles stood in front of the man to be dressed. The dancer was painted red with urucum and down pasted on his breast. His face was also smeared with urucum. Around his arms were fastened armlets made from strips of burity palm leaf, and his face was covered with a mask made of woman's hair. The foreskin of the

[291]

penis was tied with a narrow strip of burity palm leaf, for these men under their tattered European clothing still carry this string. A skirt of palm leaf strips was worn, and a jaguar robe was thrown over his shoulders. The skins of practically every species of snake to be found in the

[825]

pantanal hung from his head down his back over the jaguar robe, which

[531]

was worn with the fur on the outside. The inner surface of the hide was painted with geometric patterns, in red and black, but no one could explain the symbolism. A magnificent headdress consisting of many pieces, and containing feathers of many birds of the pantanal completed the costume with the addition of deerhoof rattles worn on the right ankle. The dancer was ready.

535

The headman facing the dancer began singing to the accompaniment of his rattles, and slowly began backing out of the enclosure, the 'jaguar' dancing before him. The other men followed in line, roaring at intervals in the song. In this manner the enclosure was left and the dance began in the open. The women and children had withdrawn either to the huts or the surrounding jungle, but when the jaguar began dancing in the

[533]

open, they came up on the dead run to join the dance. The women did not sing, but the men did so excitedly. The dancer danced flat footed with legs bent and knees thrown outward, arms extended at the side. His dance consisted of violent hops on both feet, and the twisting of his body this way and that with each hop. At the completion of the song the women and children would turn and run for cover, which they did not leave until the singing and dancing were resumed. [Plate III, 2, 3, 4.]

[text continues on p. 124]

its ceremonial obligations. It is felt that each clan should have its own house, but if the number of people in the clan is too large, additional houses can be built.

Preferential marriage between particular lineages is supported by myths. Marriages are all contracted between the two moieties except for two cases within the Echerae moiety. Otherwise marriages within the same moiety are frowned on. Marriage does not establish an alliance between two groups. Rather, marriage is the result of an alliance which was established by other means in the mythical past.

All important events in a person's life, such as naming, initiation, and death, are marked by songs and ceremonies. The ceremonies on the occasion of death are particularly long and elaborare. Traditional songs, each of which belongs to a particular clan, are in a poetic language not understood by many contemporary Bororo.

Today the old ways of life are disappearing. Hunting and gathering have become fruitless in a changed and impoverished environment and have been almost completely given up. Many ceremonies are not held anymore. For lack of material, ornaments are not made according to the old standards. The colorful birds, the jaguars, and the other animals of the forest are gone. Yet the Bororo remain a proud people. They are proud of their heritage and often point out that all over western Mato Grosso potsherds and annatto plants planted by their ancestors attest the extent of their territory and the number of villages that existed in the past. They compare

They compare
181 the knowledge they have about their environment with the
82 knowledge of the Brazilian settlers. They know the origins
563 and the names of places, things, plants, and animals; the Brazilians do not. The Bororo particularly stress the number of their myths and songs and the beauty of their ceremonies, especially the funeral ceremonies. The Brazilians, they say, bury their dead as they bury their dogs—under earth without any ceremony.

181 That knowledge is highly valued among the Bororo is sub-
828 stantiated by the fact that the chief of a village is always
622 the most knowledgeable man. Social status and functions are
554 connected with particular lineages and transmitted matrilin-
611 eally, but the true influential leaders and authorities are
613 the men who excel in knowoedge; i.e., they know the myths and
538 songs and their meanings; they know the exact sequence of
533 rituals and the important sacred and secret names of things.
788
552 Pobojari, the Bororo village where most of my research
101 was carried out, was situated halfway between the areas under the administration of the Indian Protection Service and the
121 missions. The choice of the village was determined by the fact that Pobojari was the only independent Bororo village, and we thought that it might be the least acculturated. My wife and I moved into the village in December, 1965, and we lived there until December, 1966. From January, 1967, until June we stayed in one of the missions. From July, 1967, to August we lived in Jarudori. Jarudori was once an important Bororo village but today has become a Brazilian settlement.

*601 the change of sex if the dead person was a woman.
768
616 Not all the informants agree on the exact rules for these changes. For example, some say that the dead woman's younger siblings will call the representative imana (a man's older brother) or ivuri (a woman's older brother). Others say that only male siblings will call him imana, while the female siblings will call him by the same term their "mother" uses, i.e., itonaregedu (child). Only when the representative fulfills his duty and kills one of the established animals for retribution, mori, will he become their older brother, [602] evuri. The representative will inherit all the relations in the dead person's kin group, and he will provide his new mother with meat and fish to be cooked for the "meal of the [593] spirits." The relationships between him and the siblings of the dead usually become looser with time, but the bond between the new mother and the new son persists throughout their lives.

Also the wife or husband of the deceased are temporarily [764] called by different terms. Throughout the period of the funeral ceremonies they are called and referred to by all the people participating in the ceremonies as respectively "my mother" and "my father." The widow and widower help the "mother" and "father" in carrying out their ceremonial duties.

Terms Used in Songs and Crying

*601 A different set of terms, which are considered more po-
533 etic, are used in songs and in crying for a dead relative:
765
195

* 601	ikimanomo	is substituted	for		iyedaga
• 533 765 195	ikimado	"	"	"	imaruqo
	itare	"	"	"	iyoqwa and itoredu
	itaredo	"	"	"	imuga and itoreduje
	imana aredu	"	"	"	ituye
	inokori	"	"	"	iviye imedu
	inokorodo	"	"	"	iviye aredu
	ikiwainoqo	"	"	"	ivaqedu
	ikiwainoqorodo	"	"	"	irago

iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore (all in plural) are substituted for any or all dead relatives as a group.

We see again, as was the case in the preceding paragraph, that husband and father and wife and mother are classified together. The terms ivuri and imana remain unchanged when used in songs or crying, while there is confusion on how itonaregedu should be called. Some informants (women) say that they should be called in the same way younger siblings are (inokori or inokorodo), but others (also women) maintain that they should be called as older siblings are (ivuri, imana, imana aredu). Both of these assertions are denied by male informants who maintain that one's children should be classified under the general terms used for any dead person (iramage, ira imanamage, ira itore, imana itore.)

128 view with regard to procreation and birth, and the socially recognized union of man and woman.

844 685 We may begin by noting some common features in the Bororo attitudes toward birth and marriage. Though these may be very important events in the life of one individual or family, the society at large ignores them. There is much excitement going on in the families involved, but these two changes of status (if birth may be called such for the new born child) do not affect the rest of the society. Comparative analysis of the Bororo ceremonies reveals that whenever there is an appeal to, or invocation of, spiritual beings the ceremony will be preceded and followed by singing. Outside of this religious context the Bororo do not sing. The only exception to this is that the Bororo sometimes sing Brazilian songs when they are drunk. In this respect birth and marriage are not religious ceremonies—no spirits are invoked, no songs sung. This contrasts sharply with the other changes of status which are considered significant by the Bororo viz., naming, initiation, and death. In anticipation of a more exhaustive discussion, we may say that the newborn child is not considered a member of the society until it gets its name, and marriage is looked upon as a continuation of an alliance arrangement which was established in mythical time by other cultural exchanges, e.g., those of ceremonies and goods, rather than by the exchange of women and men.

553 Sometime after the birth of the child, when the first layer of skin he was born with has peeled off and his umbilical cord is dried up, his "brothers" decide that it is time to choose the man who will give him a name. They first ask the most distinguished among them to be the namegiver. If he refuses, they ask the one who is next to him in public esteem, and so on, until someone accepts the task. A man may refuse to give a name if he had previously given a name to a child who subsequently died. He is now afraid that if he should give a name to this child, it too might die. Once found, a namegiver will choose, with the help of his "brothers," several names from the stock of clanic names.[1] The names must be chosen from those that belonged [761] to people already dead. If a living person's name were to be given, that person, according to belief, would soon die. The namegiver and his brothers try to recall the name of a man who had a long life, or one of a successful hunter, or of a good speaker, or of a knowledgeable chief who knew many songs and stories. They choose these names in the hope that the child will follow the example of his distinguished an- [533] cestors. After they have decided upon the names to be given, [302] they go to the village plaza and sing. The child's father [301] (his mother's husband) adorns and paints the namegiver and

---

[1] I recognize that "clanic" is not an accepted English word, but I will use it in order to distinguish between clan names--the names of the clans--and clanic names--personal and/or lineage names belonging to a particular clan.

gives him the paraphernalia of Bakororo, the cultural hero who first introduced the custom of namegiving among the Bororo and who now presides over the world of the spirits in the West. When the namegiver is ready, he approaches the child dancing and playing the ika.[1]

In the evening the namegiver makes a speech in the village plaza explaining what is going to happen throughout the night. He also orders the child's father's brothers to paint the child and to adorn him with white down. Then he asks the child's mother to bring the baby boy; he invokes Bakororo to play ika, pana, poari[2] for the boy to make him handsome and strong. Then they sing, starting with the songs of the child's clan and continuing with those of the other clans, until the dawn of the next day. During the singing, the women pass the child from one to the other so that each of them holds the child on her lap for some time. At dawn the father's brothers paint and adorn the child while his mother and mother's mother cry. The namegiver again represents Bakororo and plays the ika. He approaches the child, held on the lap of the child's father's brother and pierces his lower lip with a special instrument (baragara).

---

[1] The ika, a kind of trumpet, is the special instrument of Bakororo.

[2] The pana, a wind instrument made from a double calabash and blown mainly for rhythm, is the special instrument of Itubore; the poari, a kind of pipe with a reed vibrator and a gourd resonator, is the special instrument of the dead.

[553] Then he raises the child high and says the name of the father (the child's mother's husband), that of the mother, and the names chosen for the child. The ceremony is concluded with more songs. The namegiver is required to make ornaments for the child as compensation (mori) for piercing his lip. While all ornaments are prepared, the child's father must send gifts in food and tobacco to the namegiver.

[607] Here, too, we see both families involved in the ceremony—the father's brothers in adorning the child and in holding him at the crucial point and the mother's brothers in actually performing the ceremony. The names of both mother and father are announced to the community. Also significant is the appeal to Bakororo to attend the ceremony and his representation in the course of it. Bakororo, who established the cultural and social order of the Bororo and who invented many ornaments and started many customs, must be present at the moment when a child becomes a member of the society.

[723] [593] In the Bororo view the naming ceremony establishes an equivalence between child and namegiver similar to that existing between mother and child. The Bororo are unshakeable in affirming that the two relationships are completely parallel. The women state, "My child is a small me" (itonaregedu, imi rogu rugadu). And my informant, speaking about a man and his namegiver, said, "He [the namereceiver] is he [the namegiver] himself" (ema nure ema rugadu). They both are the same." It is difficult at first to grasp the logic of

881 Paru, in compliance with the wishes of Manuel Cruz, who was
563 at that time mayor of Lageado (called Guiratinga today).
Manuel Cruz had promised to supply the Bororo with rice and
881 meat in return for a performance. The elders of the village
held a council to recall and to reconstruct just how the
rite should be performed. I will illustrate here only some
important features of the ceremony. As a boy grows up, the
father becomes increasingly anxious to get him out of the
824 house. The Bororo say the penis of the boy is grown, and
father and son are now ashamed of each other. The father
tells the male members of the child's lineage that it is
time to give a penis sheath to the child. The brothers of
the boy discuss among themselves who would be the most qual-
ified initiator, or, as the Bororo say, "where they are go-
ing to throw the child." One of the requisites in the choice
of the initiator is his ability to make ornaments so that he
can make gifts for the boy. After the choice has been made,
the initiation ceremonies will be delayed until somebody
764 dies in the village. The imposition of the ba, penis sheath,
291 must coincide with the last three days of funeral ceremonies,
which last over a month. The two ceremonies are interlaced.
773 Once again the cultural hero Bakororo should be present, for
he invented the ba. This time he is represented by a man
from the lineage of Bakorokudu, who will start the imposi-
tion of the penis sheath and then let the initiator complete
533 it. The ceremony is preceded and accompanied by songs. The
301 boy is painted and adorned with white down and other orna-
302
776

613 tem. They are mentioned in many myths, stories, and songs.
614 They are the owners of many songs and ceremonies. It is
571 also their prerogative to give orders for any activity.
224 Akaruyo Bokodori gives orders for activities performed out-
224 side the village, such as hunting, fishing, or war. Bakoro-
701 kudu gives orders for activities within the village, such as
794 performing ceremonies and singing. Actually, the one who de-
553 cides what the Bororo are going to do is the chief (or chiefs)
622 of the village. He may or may not belong to one of the two
lineages, since to become chief is a personal achievement
613 (see page 104). But after the chief makes a decision,
614 Akaruyo Bokodori or Bakorokudu will give the formal orders.
571 Because their rights are clearly divided and complementary,
and because both of them belong to the same moiety, the kind
of relationship existing between these two brothers should
be very significant. The question of which of them is older
and which is younger is a crucial one. The Bororo are not in
agreement. There are examples of ornaments, objects, and
ceremonies which indicate that Akaruyo Bokodori is the more
important of the two. But there are just as many examples
which indicate Bakorokudu is the more important, and some
Bororo say that they are of equal importance. This is a
very unusual statement about "brothers" in a society where
even twins are distinguished as older and younger. One in-
formant, who otherwise claimed that Bakorokudu was the older
of the two, said that originally Bokwarebo (a lineage of the
Badajebage Chobugiwuge clan) was older than Akaruyo Bokodori,

beaches or long stretches of shore covered by grass and cane belong to the older brothers, while their short counterparts belong to the younger."[1]

Finally, we also find this opposition in the two most important Bororo musical instruments: ika and pana. ika, a long wooden trumpet, is the musical instrument of Bakororo. The musical instrument of Itubore is pana, a big double calabash opened on two sides, which is blown mostly for rhythm. Usually, when ika plays, the women are not supposed to be present; there is no similar restriction for pana. ika is always played alone or two ika play alternately in a kind of dialog; pana always accompanies songs. (This arrangement correlates with Bororo singing: men can sing alone or accompanied by women; but if women sing with men, women do not pronounce the words of the songs but just give tonal background to the melody.) The shape of the instruments is also significant. ika is elongated and narrow, often with one end in the shape of a snake's head, which would corroborate its interpretation as a phallic symbol (the use of the snake as a phallic symbol is recurrent in the Bororo myths and stories). Pana is made of two or more calabashes joined together, and in describing some woman the Bororo often compare her with pana; both of them have pea jaka--the curves of a narrow waist. ika is also the name for two

---

[1] Echerae etuviyemage eno kugaru jipa, kiworo jipa, tugoriwo jipa koborire. Etumanamage eno raire.

82 he says, "Arara, arara, arara," a word which does not mean
775 anything in the Bororo language. It is just an imitation of
776 the macaws' natural cry. (The Brazilian name for macaw is arara.) Then he gets closer and pronounces half of what he has to say, "Echera, echera." Then he comes to earth, among the people, and pronounces the full name of the plaza, "Echera Bororo"--one more transition from nature to culture, from animal cry to meaningful speech.

103 A similar distinction can be made between designations
772 of the villages mentioned in the myth. Echera, according to
825 Albisetti & Venturelli (1962: 438), means "the owner of the
533 song"; ariqao means dog. Singing is a religious activity. The secret language of the songs is the language of the Aroe. The dogs bark. The nameless dogs (animals') village and the named spirits' village are in sharp contrast.

616 Culture and Nature in the Relationships between Moieties
772 We have seen in many of the distinctions between older and younger brothers some aspect of the opposition between nature and culture. In contrast the Bororo have tried to show that between father and son, husband and wife, yorubodare and yorubodare, and between moieties, all relationships are symmetrical. Neither of the moieties is more closely associated with culture or with nature.

773 considered famous and great precisely because he did so
775 little. All that he did was to teach his two sons the names
[533] of things and animals, a fact still remembered in the important Bororo song "Roya Mugureu."

776 Meri (sun) and Ari (moon)--personifications of Bope--are
616 not claimed exclusively by one moiety. Today they are considered ancestors of the Badajebage Chebegiwuge (Echerae moiety), who saw them first after they had left the earth.
[614] But during their life among the Bororo they belonged to the Paiwoe clan. Through such means the Bororo emphasize the basic equality of the moieties.

772 Yet the accounts of other researchers seem to suggest
616 that one moiety is closer to nature, the other to culture.
773 Crocker writes:

> The antecedents of the Echerae clans were scattered around the regions to the west of the Bororo land, while the ancestors of the Tugarege were at various easterly points. The Echerae ancestral creatures are those of land and standing water, but those which gave rise to the Tugarege clans are associated with air or are things considered distant from the earth (1969: 54).

775 Bakororo (west) is the older brother of Itubore (east),
776 and sky is associated with Bope, earth with Aroe. In both
616 cases the Echerae seem to be associated with culture, the
[361] Tugarege with nature. Furthermore, all the plans of the villages published by the Salesian missionaries before the Enciclopedia Bororo show the men's house oriented on the east-west axis, with the Tugarege partition toward the east, and the Echerae partition toward the west (Colbacchini 1925:

denied water burial.[1]

If the dreams were good, the child will be brought into the village and soon given a name. We have already seen the meaning of namegiving: it takes the child apart from nature; it brings him into society. He becomes a separate being. It is a cultural act and is accompanied by songs, especially the songs of the child's clan. For the first time the child is ornamented with paint and feathers, and his mother cries. She cries in all ceremonies of the life cycle. Each one of them takes her child farther away from her. Bakororo is also there, playing the ika: the Aroe are acknowledging the arrival of a new member. In his formal presentation to the Aroe the child is raised high toward the west so that Bakororo can see it. The naming and the perforation of the lip are done by one of the child's older brothers; the names given to the child are his clanic ancestral names. The child becomes a member of the human race, but particularly a member of his own clan. He is still not a full member of the society. After all, if one of his parents remembers that his dreams were bad, the child can still be killed. They will have to put ornaments on him and sing "Roya Kurireu" and "Roya

---

[1] This practice reveals yet another contrast between nature and culture which has not been previously mentioned. Earth is associated with nature, water with culture. The Ivagududoge, natural people, made the earth; the first water came from the extended hands of the cultural hero Baitogogo. The ditch for the temporary burial in the middle of the village is dug by women; the men take the basket with the painted bones and ornaments to a lagoon for the final burial.

553 Mugureu" (the two most important Bororo songs of the funeral
533 cycle) over his body, but they will not choose his repre-
764 sentative or make a poari in his memory, and he will be buried in earth rather than in water.

881 All the important cultural components which have been
301 seen in naming are also present in initiation: ornaments,
533 songs, Bakororo with the ika, the crying of the mother, and
534 a new name. But there are some differences and many impor-
162 tant additions. This time a relationship is established with
553 a clan of the opposite moiety. The child becomes part of
616 the larger human society, not just of his own family. Fur-
562 thermore, he is leaving the company of the women and becoming
764 a man. An initiation can only be held when there is a
881 funeral ceremony. When the flesh of the dead person for
616 whom the funeral ceremony is being held has decomposed, the
571 child's brothers start to discuss whom to choose as his yorubodare; when the belongings of the deceased are burned, the boy is officially given to his yorubodare; when marenaruye (dirges) are sung, the sheath is put on the boy's penis. The society is at the same time bidding farewell to one of its members and welcoming another. Also, the boy is entering the important system of exchange of ceremonies and food. Several times during the ceremonies the boy's lineage and that
881 of his yorubodare exchange food. He has grown up and his
837 penis should be covered. The dress invented by Bakororo dis-
561 tinguishes men from boys, and humans from animals. The first
825 penis sheath is black, a sign of maturity. Mature women, when
922

/159 cont./

765 Although we can affirm that by this behavior is manifested the fear of the enigmatic phenomenon of death, it seems that the widower Coqueiro showed the true sorrow of a loving husband and with this proved how much he esteemed his wife.

775 593 When I spoke of the sexual life, I already mentioned that, according to the belief of the Bororo, the couples are reunited again after death. It is necessary to add that then they only /160/ get together after having become araras or other animals, corresponding to the belief in the transmigration of souls among these Indians. If a man had two wives, he is reunited with both after death. If he was married several times, he is reunited after death with the wife or wives of his last union. The widow who marries again is reunited after death with the last husband. Apparently, the reunion after death takes place, consequently, always according to the desire of the surviving spouse. The child is reunited with the parents, telling them all that happened since their death.

589 About the life of the widow, Colbacchini (o.c., p. 58) writes: "The widows are truly free and enjoy the same position as before. Widowhood does not impose honors or duties. They may marry again; on the part of the women there is no aversion to marrying widowers either. Once the husband is dead, the widow remains in the company of her relatives."

756 462 184 797 533 774 The Bororo of the missions assured me that among them there never existed female bari (doctors-sorceresses), but old-women healers. They told me that the one who knew how to sing best, with a louder and longer-lasting voice, and who also had other aptitudes was elected as bari. But the inhabitants of the aldeia Tori-paru told me that the bari was not elected, but that the demon bope enters any one

6:Kozfk C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

the oily seeds of a shrub. As death neara, the assemblage begins to chant softly. Then, one by one they approach the dying person and pay him their last respects by briefly placing a hand on his forehead. 763 [386] [533]

As soon as breathing has stopped, the body is quickly covered with a sleeping mat, for the corpse must not be seen again by the women or chil- 764

[p. 40-D]

6:Kozák C-5 (ca. 1954) 1963
SP8 Bororo SP8

relative of the deceased, who shoulders the basket and carries it to the men's house. As she sits outside the house, holding the basket in her lap, the other female kin of the deceased once more gash their arms and breasts, and allow their blood to run onto the basket. The men once again shake their gourd rattles and sing the songs and lamentations they intoned at the time of death.

765 [602] [3014] [152] [533]

MEANWHILE, several men begin to decorate the skull, which is placed on a newly woven mat resting on the jaguar skin. After smearing it with resin, they press red, blue, yellow, and white feathers on the surface in a traditional pattern. Women may witness the decoration of the skull; in fact, while it is being adorned, they spill the blood from their fresh mourning wounds on it.

765 531

The other bones are decorated with urucú and bands of feathers, and

[p. 46-C]
[text continues on p. 48-A]

765

place to the accompaniment of the bull-roarers' whir. [523]

At the swamp, where the final interment of the bones takes place, a deep pit is dug, and the basket is lowered into it. There is no further ritual. Only a long bamboo pole decorated with feathers is left to mark the last resting [461] place of the bones, on the proper dis-

[p. 49-A]

7:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1907
SP8 Bororo SP8

524 keep the lead. As they entered the village one wheel burst through the side of a hut. Finally both parties threw down their wheels in the public square at nearly the same moment, greeted by the applause of the whole village. They now all retired to partake of their [352] evening feast and left the wheels to be torn apart by the women and children for use as pillows. A feast always ends the game, each 224 party eating separately.

226 When about to go on a fishing trip, especially when fish are 533 scarce, or on a hunting expedition, they sing the bakaroro, which seems to be a hymn in praise of the beast or fish that is to be hunted the next day. It is sung within the baehytu after nightfall and several times a week when food is scarce. The good qualities of the animal are named, and how well it will be treated and the use that will be made of it when taken. In this anthem, the man again exhibits his imitative qualities by attempting to reproduce the animal sounds which he has been most accustomed to hear. Frogs and toads are especially favored. While visiting the Kogy ao Paro village, about twenty miles away, we spent a night in the baehytu, and listened to the bakaroro at close quarters. The din, the darkness broken only by the red light of the fire that cooked our beef, the stagnant air, the noise of this squad of human beings reproducing the sound of everything that dwells thereabouts, made one imagine that he had passed from the earthly to the un- [532] earthly. After the bakaroro, the singers went outside the baehytu, and having cleared away the black earth, brought ashes and made animals in relief on the ground, especially the tapir which they were to hunt next day. This is also a tribute of honor to the animals. They also sing the bakaroro in honor of a visitor. As they had seen men hunting on horses and admired this method, they formed a horse in relief with a man mounted on it.

462 It is always the man (mêdo, from meri, the sun) who does the light work, while the woman (arêda, from are, the moon) is the beast of burden. She it is who must provide food for the family. Her lord may go fishing or hunting, and if he brings home something, well and good, but if not, he expects to find food on returning to his hut.

582 There appears to be no regular marriage ceremony among them. 583 The girl is betrothed before reaching the age of eight or ten, and married at from ten to fourteen or even younger. She becomes betrothed by her would-be husband presenting to her parents a specially fine fish, or some animal whose flesh is much esteemed, he of course having made known in some way what he wishes in re-

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

133 everywhere precipitous, and in many places, perpendicular. The basins below are, for the most part, fairly level, while here and there colossal towers arise. After a storm, the air [132] is amazingly clear and transparent. This, and the altitude of our position, enabled us to see enormous distances in every direction, and to look down upon a stupendous expanse of wild, rugged, unexplored and unknown world, that was scarred and furrowed, torn and upheaved by the storms, convulsions and subsidences of countless ages. Our view of the earth was like gazing at the moon through a powerful telescope, and beholding a hemisphere of mountains and hills, plateaux, valleys and chasms. At one place, the Rio Vermelho has tunneled under a mountain and one can look down into appalling depths; while at other exceedingly interesting localities on the edge of this Giant's table, some of which we visited New Year's day, this river has made prodigious excavations. Once, standing on the edge of a broad, vertical-walled gorge and shouting toward the opposite wall, we listened to a splendid echo which bounded and rebounded, again and again, zigzagging, as it descended the gorge to the open basin. We also saw this day, numerous rain-storms raging around us at the same moment, some near and others remote. This was one of the most peculiar and interesting New Year's Days that I have ever experienced.

131 Steamboats could ascend from the Amazon and from the river della Plata to within a few miles of where we stood. There are rapids to overcome on the Amazon side, 'tis true, but none on the Rio della Plata side. This would give nearly three thousand miles of navigation each way from the divide.

We had now left civilization behind and were getting into the land of the Bororó. Our New Year's encampment was 361 609 close to the first small village of this tribe that we had yet [291 seen, and these simple dwellers of the wilderness, wearing [302 nothing but a coat of red grease, thronged about us all the time we remained here, gazing at us curiously, for we were 533 no less a freak to them than they were to us. It was while here that I first heard them sing the *bakororó*, the wild man's

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

evening anthem, which will be described in future pages. We were at our camp at the time, a quarter of a mile distant from the savage chorus. It was indeed wild music, and an appropriate production of the wild ones and the wilderness. It was hard to believe that this fusillade of uncouth, alarming sounds issued from human throats. This savage music resembled, somewhat, the remarkable and uncanny sounds produced by coyotes when heard at night from a distance. 533

Doubtless these nude, unclean savages would appear extremely repulsive and unhuman to most civilized people, yet I could but regard them as simple, overgrown, neglected children; and finding myself again among such rude, needy beings, I experienced a pleasure and satisfaction which I cannot describe, and inwardly thanked God, Who, in His gracious providence, had led me again to their haunts after a long detention among a more advanced race. Could I be among them once more, my cup of joy would be full. 114

Two naked Bororó accompanied us as helpers during the remainder of our journey to one of the chief villages of the tribe. The world about us became more and more wild, rugged and inhospitable as we advanced, and the difficulties and dangers of travel increased. Moreover, the myriads of the insect world seemed to resent our encroachment into their domains, and fell upon us with ever-increasing numbers and ferocity; while the elements, too, appeared to join forces with the rest of Nature, for storms occurred, not only daily, but several times during twenty-four hours. One night, we found ourselves encamped upon the "private grounds" of a colony of destructive foraging ants, which set to work promptly to cut us to pieces; and when we halted at noon for breakfast, some days, we were set upon by hordes of a stupid, sluggish, stingless bee, called "father of honey" by the Brazilians, but known to science as the *Melipona fasculata*, of which there are more than fifty varieties in Brazil. They were attracted to us by the perspiration of ourselves and our beasts, and also by the odor of our food. They did not attack us in a single swarm, but came to us individually and gradually, until quart [123] 136 [132]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

Nagarêda man, with much ostentation and politeness, now steps quickly over to the *Sheroidi* group, grasps a man by the wrist, trots him around his wheel, then stops in front of it, announcing by this act that the wheel is delivered to the team that is to run with it. A *Sheroidi* promptly returns the compliment by stepping gravely over to the *Ta Nagarêda* group and repeating the ceremony. Each man who has now been presented to his wheel and his wheel to him, politely introduces to his wheel, one by one, in the same manner, all the men of his team until each squad of human ants surrounds its own big worm. 526 616

The signal to begin the race being given, each team instantly seized its wheel and ran, pell-mell, yelling wildly, in a mad race for the village. The spectacle suggested strongly a swarm of ants that had seized a huge living worm and were running frantically with it for their dark galleries. Each team tried to maintain its wheel in an upright position, but it took a sag this way and a lurch that way, then finally rolled over onto the running, tumbling, squirming mass and fell to the ground. But picking it up again instantly, they rushed on, headlong, some under it, some on it, some dragging it, while others were being dragged, and all emitting continuously a dull, maniacal roar. Sometimes one team was in the lead, sometimes the other. As they rushed into the savage city through a narrow *alley* between two *private residences*, one of the wheels took a lurch and burst through the wall of one of the residences into the *sitting-room*. At last, both teams threw down their rolls at the same moment in the *public square* near the great hut, amid the acclamations of the entire city. All the contestants now hastened into the great hut to enjoy a savage banquet, leaving their wheels to the women and children, who fell upon them in swarms and began, excitedly, to pull out the *mano* in order to tie it into small bundles for use as pillows. 526 [361] [345] [352]

The Bororó imitate Nature also in their musical festivals—if one may call this medley of wild, discordant sounds music. They sing what they call the *bakororó* in the savage town hall nearly every evening just after nightfall. 533 [512] [345]

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

533 nearly every evening just after nightfall. It is the wild man's
825 evening anthem—a grand, pandemoniacal serenade, primitive
534 charivari, or callithumpian band and madman's glee club chorus, reproducing the harsh, strident and fearsome vociferations of the denizens of forest, marsh and stream, and supplemented by pumping artificial thunder through huge trumpets of savage manufacture. I passed three nights in the great hut
103 at a village called the Kogi au Paro, where I saw and heard the
114 *bakororó* at close quarters.

The air was heavily charged with savage odors, while the darkness was intense, slightly broken momentarily by the fitful, lurid flame of the little fire in one corner of the pen where our pot of boiled beef was being fried for the fifth time; so the outline of the group of nude, bronze savages could be discerned only occasionally. But, though there was little that appealed to the sense of sight, the auricular sense was almost overwhelmed by the hurricane of confused, strident noises that swept over us, issuing from this storm-center-like horde, and which sounded more like the cries and roars of a maddened menagerie than the utterances of human beings. One could easily imagine that he was assisting at a general assembly or world's convention of all creation;—that all four-footed beasts, flying fowl and creeping things, and, in brief, "everything that hath breath," had joined in a grand jubilee chorus, or *sængerfest.*

535 Standing in the center of the big, primitive music hall, and dancing by squatting slightly without lifting the feet, the savage chorus bellowed and roared with a powerful tremulo and
533 a mighty crescendo. They mimicked the bass *onca! onca!* of the
825 jaguar; they barked, howled, yelped and horned in imitation
151 of the wild dogs and foxes; they laughed like hyenas; whistled like the tapir; grunted, scolded and squealed like the wild hogs; bleated like the deer; squeaked like the capibara; twanged a guitar, like the inhahuma; chirped, piped and bellowed in imitation of all the frogs and toads; roared, or howled, hoarsely and stridently, like monkeys singing their morning anthem; honked like the giant crane; chattered and screamed loudly,

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

like the parrots; hooted, squaked and peeped, mimicking the notes of various other families of birds; snorted, wheezed, growled and hissed. The irrational world nightly chants its *bakororó*, Why may not these human denizens of the wilds also chant theirs? Hearing this tumult of wild, discordant sounds and confused noises, especially under the circumstances which we did and in such a savage locality, was like experiencing a strange, uncanny nightmare, which could not fail to make impressions upon the mind that will remain vivid while life endures.

This *bakororó* is always sung on the vesper of a hunting expedition, and seems to be in honor of the animal the savages intend to hunt the following day. They do not appear to articulate words in this wild uproar; or if they do, it is merely a constant repetition of a very few words only. The *bakororó* is also sung in honor of visitors. Savages observe time only in their music, ignoring harmony and tune.

After the singing of the *bakororó* that I witnessed, all the savages went outside the great hut, where they cleared a space of black ground, then formed animals in relief with ashes, especially the figure of the tapir, which they purposed to hunt the next day. The proportions were good of the animals of their world; but when they tried to form a horse and rider, the result was a monstrosity, for the horse is a new animal to them. They greatly admire hunting with horses and dogs, as well they may, since by their method of hunting they must pursue an animal on foot for hours at full speed. The forming of animals in relief seems to be also in honor of these animals.

It was very interesting to observe how childlike these primitive people are, and in how many ways they resemble the irrational creatures of their world. Though they have the bodies of strong, well-developed men and women, they give abundant evidence that they have the mind only of a child. Their language is rude and very limited, and without language man cannot think and reason, and his mind remains in an untutored, infantile state.

In common with the wild beasts, the wild man obtains his

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

skin deep, but now and then they accidentally cut deep and bleed profusely. The reader will have observed that the males do not cut themselves, nor pluck out their hair. They are careful not to injure themselves. It is only the nearest female relative of the deceased that has her hair jerked out.

Witnessing these hideous, uncanny and revolting scenes of savagery, in the sickening atmosphere and dismal gloom of the great hut, and listening to the pandemoniacal uproar or medley of infernal noises, one could well imagine that he had somehow been cast into the dungeons of the damned, and was hearing their shrieks, and wails, and moans of unspeakable anguish and despair. While this hideous drama, that only savage tragedians are capable of interpreting, was being enacted, and pandemonium was singing and playing its hellish hymns, and saying its mass, in this cavernous place; outside, a tropical sun was silently inundating the earth with its glorious effulgence, and all Nature, arrayed more beautifully than Solomon in all his glory, sang for joy.

The first part of this horrid nightmare within the great hut with the body present, continues night and day without intermission, until the first sunset after death; then, as the king of light sinks slowly and majestically behind the western wilderness, and the shadows of night begin to gather, symbolical of the closing forever of life's bright, happy day, and the ushering in of the black, sad, hopeless night of the invisible world, the savage choir, chorus and orchestra become hushed; and the enwrapped remains are borne solemnly to the public playground just outside the great hut, placed on top of the ground and covered by a little mound of earth. Here the body lies for a week or more in order that the flesh may decay and separate from the bones. Each evening during this time, at the *meri de códu*—the setting of the sun—as the prince of day resigns the earth to the rule of night, the sorrowing family and sympathizing friends, gather around the sacred mound, and with their faces turned toward the dying light, murmur a low, mournful chant, pleading the virtues of the lost one, and perhaps also recommending him to the good offices of the "supreme power"

Brazil.

[765] [533] [975] —the sun—or to the protection of the great *bopi* who are believed to dwell in the sun, the shade of their dear one, who, being "wicked" and "bad," is doomed to wander forever in the regions of darkness and despair, and to plot evil against men in the flesh. During the week, too, water is occasionally thrown upon the mound to hasten the decay of the corpse. I was told that the savages also churn the mound, but did not see them do this. During the week, also, the family of the deceased crouch frequently in their gloomy abode, and mutter, moan and wail.

A week having elapsed since burial, the time came to disinter the putrefying remains and prepare for the second part of the obsequies with the bones present. The day preceding this event was again a gala day in the city of savagery. During the entire forenoon, a kind of *bakororó* was held in the great hut, but no female of the tribe assisted at these doings. [533] During nearly the entire day, too, the forest in the vicinity of the village reverberated with insane sounds and infernal noises, for groups of savages perambulated the wilds, back and forth, swinging the roarer—which will be described later—which emitted a variety of unearthly shrieks and sepulchral moans. It seemed as if the demons of the pit were out for a holiday [534] and holding a picnic in the woods. Within the great hut, during the afternoon, peculiar whistles, beautifully adorned with feathers, were sounded at intervals to call the *bopi*, while one [975] of the savages was chosen to represent the soul of the de- [292] parted. He was rigged up in a skirt made of long, slender palm-leaves hung to a belt, and a cloak and a veil of the same material, and made in the same way, while his head was adorned with a large fan made of the long, brilliant tail-feathers of the macaw. He was accompanied by two adjutants with big, gourd-shell rattles in their hands, who stood, one behind, the other in front of him. First, the trio danced up [535] and down within the great hut, sidewise, crab-like, with legs rigid. It seems to be a sort of ecstatic or devil-dance, and is continued until the participants appear to have cramps in their legs. During this performance, armed sentries guard the

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

765 That same night, at the midnight hour, while the village slept, the decomposing remains were lifted, supposedly by the *bópi*, or by men acting secretly under their orders, for no one is supposed to know the ghouls. They may be appointed by the sorcerer, or by the captains; or are volunteers as heretofore indicated. These men lift the fetid mass by means of the pole that passes inside the roll and protrudes from each end of the mound, carry it to the river and clear the bones of the flesh as best they can; then packing the bones in a basket, deposit them in the great hut, where they are found when the village awakes at dawn, ready for the final ceremonies. At the [239] funeral rites I witnessed, the skull had been kept separate from the rest of the bones, and resting on a palm-leaf tray, partly buried in white down, was being overlaid with bright feathers, plucked from the breast of the macaw, while the *bakororó* was being sung. As the deceased was the little daughter of one of the chief men, the remains were treated with special honors.

At the *méri rútu*—the birth of the sun—the following morning, the demoniacal din and tumult of the savage choir, chorus [533] and orchestra, as of a hundred wild beasts in deadly combat, [785] was again unchained in the gloomy interior of the great hut; [302] and the female relatives and friends of the departed burst forth anew with loud lamentations, and wept, wailed and muttered, and vociferated like the laughter of hyenas, and slashed their bodies afresh with jagged edged shells until they were daubed with gore, and again smeared themselves with the black slush. These fearsome and sickening scenes, and smells, and sounds, especially when witnessed at night in the sepulchral darkness that reigned within the great hut, could not fail to powerfully affect one who had never before listened to a hallelujah chorus in hell, and to make impressions upon the mind that can never be effaced.

[226] The second part of the funeral *bakororó*, or ceremony, with the bones present, may continue without a recess for two or three days and nights, with the exception, perhaps, of one intermission of eight or ten hours for a fishing expedition, the primitive tragedians relieving one another from time to time.

8:Cook M-3 (1900-1901) 1909
SP8 Bororo SP8

to war, they must choose one as their leader; or one becomes such by mutual consent. We gave the Kogi au Paro chief some presents, which seemed to please him much, and he returned the favor, bringing us some vegetables.

Next morning, soon after daybreak, and after the singing of the *bakororó*, which is sung at dawn in this village as well as at dusk, the men of the village gradually assembled in the great hut, and sitting cross-legged on their mats, occupied themselves in various ways. Several worked at making bows and arrows, cordage and nets; a few shook out raw fibre preparatory to rolling it on their knees into threads; one or two spun cotton, rolling it between the palms of the hands, then winding it on a rude, wooden spindle; one man wove, or crochetted, a narrow cotton belt by means of a peculiar little contrivance made by binding together two small reeds; another made a kind of bead by boring holes through shell or stone discs and making them uniform in diameter by stringing them tightly together and passing a sort of whet-stone over them as they were held firmly upon a block. The holes were bored through the discs by revolving rapidly between the palms of the hands, a stone-pointed instrument, like a large lead-pencil. The Bororó kindle a fire in much the same manner, revolving a pointed wooden rod as it rests upon a certain kind of wood. Various other articles were in process of manufacture in this primitive workshop. A few men who were not occupied, lay stretched full length on their palm-leaf mats, dozing, or occasionally exchanging a few words with one another in voices that were partly mumbling speech, and partly like the purring of a cat. The Bororó artificer works very slowly, for nearly two entire days are consumed in the making of a single arrow, which, however, is made with almost infinite care. But time is of no value to these people.

The Sheraidi and the Ta Nagareda divisions, into which the Kogi au Paro village, in common with all other Bororó encampments is divided, sat in separate groups, each occupying one-half the great hut. These two divisions hunt, fish, play

/457 cont./

After the roll call the men took off their caps and hats and sang, or rather bawled, with one clear voice predominating:
O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, vós sois a advogada dos peccadores, criais todos cheia de graça com a vossa feliz grandeza, vos sois dos céos princeza, do Espíritu Santo esposa.
Maria mãi de graça, mãi de misericordia, rogai Jesus por nos, recebai (!) nos na hora de morte! Senhor Deus pequei (?), Senhor, misericordia. Por vossa mãi, Maria Santissima, misericordia!*

* Satirical verse: "O, virgem da concepção, Maria immaculada, pagai o nosso soldo, deixai da cacoada! (pay us our wages and never mind the rotten jokes).

As in the "pronto" calls, Indians who happened to be passing by lustily joined in the singing; inside the house Caldas was practicing on the violin. At the end all of them, including the guard and the cadet with the sugar cane, knelt down. The Bororó did not pay any particular attention to the procedure, which had long since been familiar to them. But about an hour later a dozen boys appeared before our door and sang -- the music was correct, the words, except for the beginning, unintelligible and not understood -- "O, Santa Maria, mãi de graxa," ** as they put their arms

** "Mother of fat" (pronounced grascha).

around one another, giggling, and lined up in a row leaning crookedly against one another.

Toward nine o'clock Moguyokrui had appeared before the cadets and demanded alcohol. For a change the chief "identifying himself completely with the civilization of his tribe" wore a woman's red petticoat and a white linen jacket; he insisted that the key to the supply room be fetched and he actually got his bottle; he achieved his purpose no less when, on occasion, he would rouse the gentlemen in the middle of the night.

Row with Arateba. He is once again totally drunk and demands more; this time, however, the famous key is refused. He alarms the whole colony with his yelling and scolding; he hastens to

/457 cont./

648 293 his hut and returns with two "espadas"! He waves the sabers around in the air, enraged, and totters from side to side, but contents himself with threats. He takes off first his shirt, then his trousers, /458/ and throws them at poor Eliseo's feet; he turns to the soldiers who are standing idly by and pours out all the insults he knows against the superiors, who are likewise standing idly about. He wants to go away and to go with us because here they refuse him alcohol. Finally he trudges home.

000 30 March, Good Friday. The guard holds his gun pointed downward. The guns of the rest of the soldiers remain on the ground. The soldiers' wives in their freshly ironed Sunday clothing wander to the graveyard with crosses and candles. The prison is opened; two prisoners come out, one of them a tall Negro, his surrão -- the leather bag that takes the place of a knapsack -- on his back and in his hand the coxó, the fiddle of the sertanejo, on which he is happily strumming.

224 765 The hunters returned heavily laden and brought a quantity of game in their carrying baskets; Coqueiro, the new widower, is still in the military colony. The body of his wife is dug out. The bones were cleaned and brought in a basket to the men's house in the evening; a new basket-bag, into which they are to be transferred at the actual burial service, lies beside them and a pot [276] with water stands there. The room is dark; only a few embers glow to one side, at which those who smoke light their cigars, Many men, women, children are lying comfortably stretched out on [533] the floor. A tight semicircle of squatting figures, however, the bari in the middle, surrounds the baskets and the pot; they are singing a monotonous, but loudly resounding song of lament. [756] The Bari is incessantly swinging the gourd rattle filled with clink- [534] ing shell fragments, his deep, quivering voice rises above all the others with strong pathos, and he does not stop singing and swinging until his voice and hand fail him; then he falls silent and lets the rattle come to a trembling stop, there is a brief pause during which, in his transport, he hastily puts a cigar to his mouth, and, drawing at it forcibly, he swallows the smoke. Again he sings and rattles and smokes in between, until after a brief hour the

/480 cont./

575 The aróe. The hub of Bororó existence is the baitó, the men's
● 583 house, and, compared with the incredibly noisy life that goes on
[345] there day and night, the family huts are scarcely more than an abode for women and children. The united men are called aróe, and, to be sure, especially with respect to the joint hunting. In the songs resounding and widely echoing in the baitó, one may say without undue exaggeration, almost every day and every night, aróe is not the third, but the second word; for the songs contain enumerations of animals and things, each of which is followed by at least one aróe as soon as it is named. There is singing on all occasions that in any way arouse feelings of sorrow or joy, and, to be sure, insofar as possible, on the eve of the
[629] event as well as after it. The chief announces in the evening a hunt for the following day: now, instead of sensibly going to sleep until the early hour of departure has arrived, the aróe join in their hunting song, and the most enthusiastic ones sing
[582] steadfastly until morning. The tribe gives the impression of a male singing society made up of hunters, the members of which pledge themselves not to marry until they are about 40 years old,
[561] but to live together in their clubhouse. The older members with
[264] families are the respected dignitaries, and for this reason they,
[554] too, can spend only a little time at home; they take part in the hunting expeditions or must officiate in the clubhouse where they provide for order, lead the songs, and on the busy days also take part in the meal which the women send in. /Pl. XXVIII appears here./

184 /481/ Clemente asserted that the Indians in the colony did not in any way live differently than in their villages, that, on the contrary, there the joint hunting was even more prominent because they had to provide all their subsistence themselves. Ac-
105 cording to this, therefore, life on the Kulisehu is essentially
171 different from that in the Bororó village. There people lived
433 together in stately family houses, here every married couple
511 blessed with children had their small miserable hut; there the
571 bachelors constituted the exception, here the majority; there the men living in monogomy had their flute house which no woman entered, which served for general consultations and dances

[Text Continues on P.601]

/493 cont./

533 Dance and play. On the basis of the preceding, the aróe song, [156] opening every communal hunting and fishing expedition, loses all its strangeness. The bari, who solemnly divides up the booty at the end, also takes care of the solemn preliminaries for the under- [172] taking. We shall not yet go into the underlying view of the relationship between animal and human being, without which these ceremonies could scarcely have been invented except by charlatans, but with which they are probably justified in their origin.

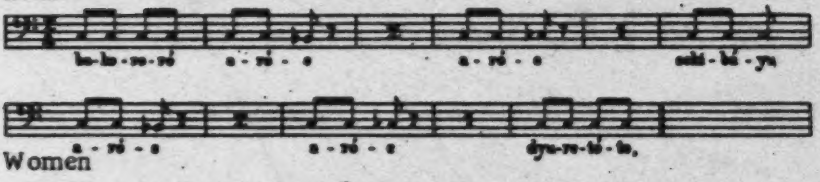
The hunting song is the same as the one sung at the ceremony for the dead! It makes a very dignified and, at night, if one likes, horrible impression. At the ceremony for the dead, men and women sing together, the women, to be sure, standing to one side and in the background and often stopping, while the men do not permit themselves a pause. During the nocturnal preparations for the hunt, one heard only the deep booming voices of the men's [115] chorus. I owe the notes on the next page /see p. 618/ to the cadet Caldas. He made a distinction between a first song by the men alone and a second one by the men and women. The text which he wrote down for the first one is unfortunately useless. It is about the gull, schibáyu, which also occurs in the second, and, in spite of several repetitions, it is nothing but a mere listing of names. This latter – aróe is the text of the second song and, in a long sequence, is also what is usually sung -- not much poorer in variety in the text than in the music, which, though I have no technical knowledge, seems to me to achieve the ultimate in "monotony." The following "verses" were translated by Clemente and are given in the proper sequence: bakororó aróe, okóge aróe, schibáyu aróe, kurugúge aróe botoroé aróe imayaré aróe dyuretóto aróe kayatóto aróe manotóto aróe. The words listed are: water (a specific kind? otherwise póbe), dourado fish, gull, falcon, another predatory bird that eats fish, "its breast," water snake sukurí, mortar, swamp grass. The scene, therefore, is on the water; more I cannot say; whether the dead person experiences all kinds of things in the vicinity of his skeleton-basket buried there, whether the rival animals that catch fish are desired in the mortar, which would seem more /494/ credible -- I was unable to discover. Alternating with this song, "jaguar," "capibara," "parîko" (feather

●533 diadem) – ehé would be sung; again, however, this did not occur at the ceremony for the dead, but only in connection with hunting.

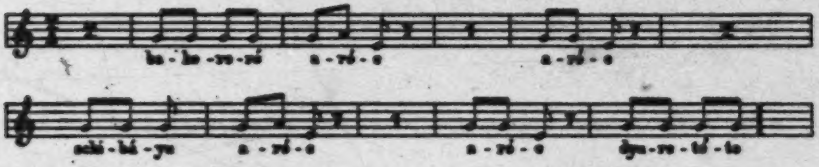
First song, by the Men.

533 539 Second Song, by the Men and Women.

Men



Women



535 [534] Rohde speaks of a "fararu dance," for which one is adorned with feather crowns, bells, and other ornaments. A dance leader, the gourd rattle in each hand, bells made out of deer hoofs on his feet, is in the center of a circle which the men form and which the women surround with a larger circle. They dance rhythmically, leap and rattle for a long time; finally the leading dancer roars hau! and makes a wild final leap which the entire company imitates. Waehneldt saw dances with imitations of animals and calls the howling-monkey dance, with an imitation of all the sounds and movements, particularly extravagant. "In the jaguar-skin dance men and women take part; the latter are never able to see the skin of the jaguar which one man is wearing on his back, who, however, tries to show it to them with his movements at every step." The fear of the women is the point /495/ of the dance.

[198] "The dance, which consisted of their imitating (?) the customs of

/505 cont./

765 cleaned the skeletons with sharp stones and transferred them to
171 the baskets. A number of dead were already buried in urns with handles.

764 We were present at two ceremonies for the dead on the S.
[123] Lourenço: the first was in progress at our arrival; we saw the second, which I should like to describe, from beginning to end.

The first burial takes place on the second or third day, when decomposition excludes any doubt about the death. The corpse
765 is buried near the water in the forest, and, after about 14 days, the flesh is removed and the principal ceremony is arranged, the purpose of which is the ornamentation and packing of the skeleton.
[533] In the meantime communication with the deceased is maintained, during the day as well as, and principally, during the night, by means of songs of lamentation in the ranchão, which in our case (cf. page 565) could be kept on a smaller scale, since it was only a woman, the wife of "Coconut-palm."

The principal ceremony took place on Easter Sunday. On the day before, Hallelujah Saturday, after Judas had been disposed of, there were busy preparations in the ranchão: whizzer sticks were planed and painted, the ornamentation repaired, in between in one corner there was a little desultory rattling and singing by a bari in the feather finery of the parîko. The widower,
[768] Coqueiro, in his hut made cuts in his arms and legs, which became covered with crusts of clotted blood, and late in the afternoon there took place the ceremonious destruction of the belongings of the deceased, or, more correctly, the belongings of her immediate family who had lived in a hut with her -- a procedure with very interesting pantomime, which merits more detailed description.

[302] Several Bororó appeared behind the men's house in full gala
[301] array, hair and body painted with urucú, the forehead framed by the black gum-strip, the festive cuff with the painted flag in place, the arms and hair with green parrot feathers pasted on them, and on their heads two parîkos and baragaras, the feather wheels and the feather-decorated lip-piercers. While two of them sat down on a mat and rattled, Coqueiro himself took fresh green /506/ bunches of leaves, tied them together at the stems

/506 cont./

765 bast bands, bark belts, a red coverlet, many maize ears, gourds,
[768] shells; bows and bunches of arrows were broken up, and every-
thing thrown together in a heap. Soon the scene took on a
[535] semblance of order; the men formed a circle around the fire and
moved slowly round and round, leaping up with both feet. The
green one was seized and held down by the two loam creatures,
whom we at first scarcely recognized as good old Moguyokuri
and the chief bari (the archer on Plate 28). The gourds rattled,
the whizzer sticks buzzed, the fire now blazed up. The green
[535] one was released, and he and a second man behind him in the
[768] parîko, /507/ dancing all around and always stepping to the side,
first to the right, then to the left, threw the things into the
[755] flames. Meanwhile -- and that, it seemed to me, was the strangest
thing in the entire performance -- the two old dead persons cured
a sick woman who had suddenly arrived, I know not how. They
blew upon her and probably gave her the comforting assurance
that she would not be fetched away so very soon. Several ran
to the nearby river and threw knives and axes into it. Coqueiro
tended the fire, dance and song ceased, the feather ornaments
were placed beside the fire, and the green one added his
garlands, the baris squatted in a row, one behind the other, and
[622] were doused with water. Immediately thereafter great com-
motion: the dog of a soldier had bitten a child; Moguyokuri,
still covered with loam, angrily accosts the owner, who, for
his own safety, betakes himself to prison; this satisfies the chief,
and with his hand he closes the mouth of the scolding mother,
who now goes off silently, but grinning happily and sticking her
tongue out.

[533] The following night uninterrupted arôe singing on the part
of the Indians; no one stayed in the huts or in the ranchão; men,
women, and children were outside. Uninterrupted music-
making, dancing, laughing and bad singing among the soldiers.
Magnificent moonlight. The first solemn hour of the Easter
festival revealed marvelous contrasts between the groups for the
resurrection.

/508 cont./

765 windows, were put on. It looked quite charming and dainty, what the crude hunters had worked out there. Now a special act was performed, the "consecration" of the skull and new basket. A sort of chapel or sanctuary was built in that five bows were planted in a semicircle, mats leaned against them, and coverlets hung on them and over them. In this niche /509/ was placed the decorated basket, three whizzer sticks as yet unpainted were leaned against it, and the skull laid on a mat filled with a loose heap of feathers; the most active of the baris sat down in the entrance, which was blocked by his body and the drummer standing behind him -- now without his drum. To encourage them, two pots of water, loam-yellow river water, and three [533] cigars had been put in the niche. Starting slowly, in a deep voice, the two began their song, and the bari swung a rattle in each hand. The others sat around happily, played little pranks, begged for tobacco, and merely hummed along in the final measure. Gradually, however, the singing became more animated, high women's voices joined in energetically, and at the niche the two leaders of the singing worked with all their might, until, after three-quarters of an hour, they were utterly exhausted. They bent down in the niche in order to drink, but their whole bodies shook as in fever, so that the water jug had to be held; they wiped off the perspiration and were able to stammer only a few inarticulate sounds, to which the chorus responded in [276] unison with several restrained grunts of approval. Trembling, they smoked their cigars.

[535] The coverlets were removed; six men, Coqueiro now among them, swung the rattles, sang, and danced, always with eyes closed, wholly absorbed in themselves. We, too, danced and rattled for a while, to the delight of the Indians. Only one or another would occasionally pause for a while, smoke his cigar meanwhile with great haste, and wipe off the sweat that poured in streams from the bodies of the six. Numerous women sang along, passing the time with delousing, or fanned the dancers rhythmically to cool them, standing behind them; a large number of men lay stretched out along the wall and rested. There was a general pause only once, and the singing was supplanted by the merry jingle of the harmonica coming

daughter depending upon which relative died, and once every year the ghost returns and enters the body of the person who did the burying and dances in the *arduato*. But if the deceased has no relatives who can offer the gravedigger gifts, then the ghost becomes angry and does harm. He makes people sick, breaks pots, and takes the form of a jaguar or a snake and kills people. Eventually, however, ghosts of this kind die.

Thus the important religious rite of the Umotina is the *arduato*, which is given every year at the beginning of the rainy season. Large quantities of fish, meat, and manioc cake are prepared by the family heads who have ghosts to whom they must make offerings. The ghosts are impersonated by the gravediggers dressed for the occasion. There appears to be four classes of spirits: the *pódopódo* or ghosts of men who have living relatives; the *bakóre* or male ghosts who have no relatives but must be appeased during the *arduato*; and the *akakóno* and the *katóri* who are the female correspondents of the above-mentioned male spirits. The *pódopódo* and *akakóno* dancers wear long mantles made from buritĭ leaves, which reach from the shoulders to the ground. They wear macaw feather headdresses, glue feathers above their eyes, and pull their hair over their faces and fasten it to their beards. The *bakóre* mantle is the same as that of the *pódopódo* but it is tied around the waist, the dancer wearing a mask made from buritĭ bark. The *katóri* dancer wears a costume made by suspending a buritĭ leaf mantle from a large hoop about 3 or 4 feet in diameter. A mask made from a net is placed on top of the hoop. The dancer then gets underneath and holds the hoop with his hands while dancing.

While the dancers are performing at night the women sing and the men play the flutes (*kdto*) and shake gourd rattles. The flute is about 3 feet in length and is made from taquara. It is played from the side like a clarinet.

The givers of the *arduato* are those men who have lost relatives since the *arduato* the year before. These men usually combine in collecting the food and building a temporary house in which the dancers dress for the ceremony. When the ceremony is over the dancers give their mantles to the givers of the feast, who use them for making mats.